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the Third Millennium B.C. while admitting the possibility of the later date of the Second Millennium B.C. suggested by other authorities. Rostovtseff sees this Caucasian culture as original and native, influenced only slightly by, and not derived from, other contemporary cultures of the Near and Middle East.[1]

The Argonautic legend, which really embodies the form of an early "Black Sea Pilot" handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and modified and embroidered according to the fluctuations of geographical knowledge and the fertile imagination of all sailors, relates to the history of a maritime commerce in the Black Sea, dating back to round about the fifteenth century B.C., eight hundred years before the great days of the Hellenic mercantile marine, and several hundred years before the Aryan nomads and pirates overturned the flourishing monarchies and the great sea-trading cities of the Bronze Age. The buried bones and wealth of metal things found in the Kuban, and the carved stones set along the cliffs of the Abkhazian coast illuminate this epic monument of Orpheus, and the maritime smack of all the scattered evidence seems to indicate that the prehistoric civilization of the Caucasus, if indeed native and original, was in familiar and enduring contact with one or the other, or all, of the succeeding thalassocracies of the Bronze Age. The Kingdom of Æa—whose riches amazed the rough crew of Jason's ship, as in a later age the treasures of Mexico astonished Cortez' sailors—may indeed have been very similar in character to the Bosporan kingdom which, twelve centuries later, rose to great prosperity on the north-east coasts of the Black Sea; that is, a country of farming and mining, ruled by a native dynasty in regular contact with sea-traders who had opened up the navigation of the Black Sea. And in the way that the Bosporan kingdom grew to wealth and political importance as the warden of the ways to Central Asia by the Don and Ural and as the garnerer of all the products round about, so the kingdom of Æa, master of the mines and natural products of the Trans-Caucasian Trough, straddled the through-route to the Caspian and Iran and the ways that went south-east to Lake Van and the Mesopotamian Plain.

[1] For Rostovtseff's views on the relation of the Caucasus to the civilizations of the Bronze Age, see particularly *R.A.* (1920), *L'Âge de cuivre dans le Caucase Septentrional et les civilizations de Soumer et de l'Egypt protodynastique*; his book, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Introduction and Chap. I, "The Prehistoric Civilizations"; *J.H.A.* (1920), *The Treasure of Astrabad*; see also his recent book *Animal Style in South Russia and China* (1929) for qualification of his earlier views. See also Note A, p. 366.

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THE BACKGROUND

• 173 The identity of the maritime nations who traded with the Caucasus during the Bronze Age remains obscure. The existence of the megaliths along the Cherkess and Abkhaz coasts brings the Caucasus within the sphere of all those elaborate theories which have been constructed to explain the setting up of the stone monuments, everywhere so curiously similar.[1] The theory that these monuments were built always under Egyptian influence may find confirmation in the story of Herodotus about the Egyptian origin and customs of the Colchians.[2] Mr. Peake, however, contends that

> "several lines of evidence point to the Sumerians, or certain groups of them, as being the traders who travelled the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of Europe in search of precious metals, and who are somehow responsible for the spread of the megalithic culture. . . . Dolmens and other megalithic structures are found all round Sumer, in Syria and Palestine to the west, in the Crimea and in the Caucasus."[3]

On the other hand it may be suggested that the Minoans, rather than the Egyptians or the Sumerians, were the first of the sea-going nations to set about the navigation of the Black Sea. Certainly the Mycenæans, the immediate heirs to the maritime supremacy and to the civilization of Cnossus, appear to have extended their adventuring to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and the traces of their trading may be followed to the valleys of the Mtkvari and the Alazani, and even by the southern shore of the Caspian.[4]

Knowledge of the relations of the early Asiatic land-powers with the tribes and principalities of the Trans-Caucasian Trough is confined to deductions such as those made by Rostovtseff, based on a comparison of the artistic technique of scattered archæological finds. The inscriptions of Sumer, of Susa and Elam, and of Babylon, give no indication that the commercial and political influence of the people of these sites extended even as far as the Araks. We cannot indeed doubt that the fertile Trans-Caucasian Trough was, during the Bronze Age, as it was during the early Classic period, more easily accessible by sea than by the difficult land-routes from Southern Asia. It is, however, not unreasonable to assume that there

[1] For review of the megalith problem see *C.A.H.*, II, 597–600.

[2] See V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire Historique sur la Géographie Ancienne du Caucase*, pp. 49–54; Uslar, in *Zap. Kav. Ot. I.R.G.O.*, Tome XIV, Part 2, pp. 391–403, Zametka o Kolkakh.

[3] H. Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, p. 59; see also Rostovtseff, *Animal Style in South Russia and China*, pp. 17–20.

[4] See Salomon Reinach, *La Représentation du Galop dans l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Paris, 1923, pp. 53–59; for "Ægean" activities on the Pontine coast in the thirteenth century B.C., cf. J. L. Myres in *C.A.H.*, III, 661–2.

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existed in the ancient Mesopotamian cities some knowledge of, and some irregular and indirect intercourse with, the valleys of the Rioni and the Mtkvari.

At a later date there is a probability that the Hittites were in regular contact with Trans-Caucasia, but here again their inscriptions, which have so far been deciphered, give no indication of the fact, and a vast tract of archæologically unexplored country, of whose history in the pre-Classic period we are entirely ignorant, separates the region of Æetes' kingdom from the seats of the Hittites on the Halys.

It is first in Assyrian records that mention frequently occurs of names of tribes who are, later, in the early Classic period, found settled in the Mtkvari valley. But in the period of the Assyrian wars, from the eleventh century B.C. to the seventh century B.C., these tribes were cantoned much farther south and west, in the neighbourhood of the Middle Taurus and the upper valley of the Euphrates, and there is no inscriptional evidence to indicate that the Assyrians had any knowledge of, or any intercourse with, the country beyond Mount Ararat.

It would seem that the kingdom of Urartu, called also Khaldi—which covered all the country round Lake Van, and stretched north-eastwards as far as the Araks, and possibly northward to the valley of the Chorokhi—was the only land-state of the older civilizations which had a close intercourse with the Ponto-Caspian Isthmus, and which had extended its commercial and, maybe, its political influence into those parts. The Urartians used a language which has been found to have some affinity with Georgian,[1] and although it is probable that their dynasty and aristocracy was Aryan, there seems little reason to doubt that the people of the Vannic kingdom were racially connected with, if indeed their descendants did not form part of, those tribes who, about the time of the fall of the kingdoms of Van and Assyria, were beginning to settle along the Mtkvari valley.[2] The Urartians developed a culture which was borrowed directly from the Assyrians, and the historical roots of which drew nurture from Babylon. Planted across the

[1] Sayce, A. H., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, in *J.R.A.S.*, Vols. XIV *et seq*; cf. also Marr, *K'izucheniyu sovremennago gruzinskago yazyka*, Leningrad, 1922.

[2] The kingdom of Urartu was called also Nairi or Khaldi and the chief god of the Urartians was Khaldis. During the Middle Ages the Trebizond country formed the Byzantine "theme" of Chaldia; the name also occurs in Kalnis-mta (Georgian for the Sughanli-dagh) and in the Kaldi-kara Mountains (north of the river Khasmi). Between Gumush-khané and Baiburt on the road to Erzerum, there are villages inhabited by people called Khalt, who speak a dialect which I was told had no resemblance to Turkish, Armenian or Georgian. The local explanation of the name is that it means simply a "mixed people". For further on this question see Lynch, II, 68, and Lehmann-Haupt, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 191.

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routes which led from the treasure-bearing mountains of the north to the cities of the ancient world, the Urartians, in the very nature of their quickly accumulated power and prosperity, must indeed have been the energetic pioneers of the exploitation, by the land-routes, of the mineral resources of the Pontic and Caucasian lands.[1]

The authors of the Georgian Annals derive the peoples of the Caucasus from Targamos, a descendant of Japhet. Targamos is the Torgom of Armenian tradition, the Togarmah of Genesis. Of the sons of Targamos, Haos was the ancestor of the Armenians (HA'IQ), his seven brothers of the various peoples of the main chain of the Caucasus and its southern valleys. The Annalists wrote under the influence of the historical ethnology of the Old Testament, and they sought to combine the "mappa mundi" of the tenth chapter of Genesis with local vague traditions of the Swarming Time. The names given to the sons and grandsons of Targamos represent a late attempt to explain geographical names in use during the first centuries of the Christian Era. The Annals preserve, however, several authentic tribal names mixed with these primitive attempts at geographical ethnology. They preserve, also, in the genealogy of the sons and grandsons of Kartlos, the tradition of the expansion and of the extension of the political power of the tribes who settled in the middle basin of the Mtkvari. Kartlos, the second of the eight sons of Targamos, is the ancestor of the Kartlians—of the eastern branch of the Georgians, as his brother Egros is of the Mingrelians or western Georgians. Of the second generation, of the five sons of Kartlos, the eldest, Mtzkhetos, represents a tribal name, and of his three grandsons Uplos may again be identified as a tribal as distinct from a geographical name. The principalities allotted to the sons of these two latter generations seem to indicate two successive waves of expansion by which the territory of the Kartlians was extended from the middle valley of the Mtkvari to the Alazani and the Yori on the east, and to the Chorokhi on the west.

Of all the relations of Haos, these three, Kartlos, Mtzkhetos and Uplos, may in different degrees be identified in tribal names, known to the early historic peoples of Asia in forms derivative from the roots K-D, M-S, and B-L.

The root K-D is at once the most important and the most

[1] *C.A.H.*, III, 185. "In metallurgy the people of Van were very expert, as might be expected from the proximity of the mineral wealth. Gold, silver, bronze, copper and iron were all in requisition."

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obscure. It is represented in Kartli, a Georgian provincial toponym. It has survived in the contemporary name KURD, which covers a number of tribes of primitive and mingled stock in the Armenian mountains. These tribes certainly include in their composition the descendants of fugitive elements from the period of the Scythian and Cimmerian invasions.[1] And the name Kardukhoi applied by Xenophon to the tribes in the upper valleys of the Euphrates and the Araks, constitutes an historical indication of the connection between the various forms of this name-root.[2]

The roots M-S and B-L are common in the geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Mtzkh-eta, "the place of Mtzkh", and Uplis-tzikhé, "the castle of Uplos", perpetuate in familiar way the names of the mythical forefathers of the Georgians. The root M-S appears again in the names of the town of Mush and of the district of Mughan, and in the form Masis, the old Armenian name for Mount Ararat. The inhabitants of south-western Georgia called their province Samtzkhé and themselves Meskhians until the end of the eighteenth century.[3] In the early Hebrew, Assyrian, Vannic and Greek records the forms of these two roots M-S and B-L frequently occur as the names of peoples who, in the period between the first Assyrian references and the later Greek descriptions, had shifted from the Taurus region to the neighbourhood of the Pontic mountains. Thus in Assyrian inscriptions the Mushki and Tabal appear, in the Old Testament Tubal and Meshech, and in Herodotus and later writers the Meskhoi and Tibarenoi.

The racial affinities of these M-S and B-L peoples are obscure. The Mushki first appear in history in the twelfth century B.C. when they were settled in the anti-Taurus region. This location would appear to confirm the tradition of the Georgian Annals of the coming of Targamos and his sons from Babylon.[4] It is probable, however, that the basis of this tradition was the desire of the chroniclers to co-ordinate their

[1] It is noteworthy that the term "Meshkin" is at the present time applied among certain Kurdish tribes, to the lowest and poorest section of the population.

[2] Kardukhoi = root KARDU or KARTU + nominal suffix -KH + Greek nominal suffix -OI.

[3] *Cf. The Man in the Panther's Skin*, by Shota Rustheveli (late twelfth century), ed. Wardrop, *R.A.S.*, 1912, quatrain 1572: "I, a certain Meskhian bard of the borough of Rustheveli, I write this." In Samtzkhé, sa- is a Georgian territorial prefix, which is accompanied by the suffix -e or -o (e.g. Sa-KARTVEL-O, *the land Kartvel* = Georgia). The infix Kh- in Samtzkhé is common as a nominal suffix to names in Armenian; we have therefore Sa-MTZ-KH-E, the land of the MTZKH; i.e. Meskhians, Mosokh or Mushki. See also Note B, p. 367.

[4] Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1ère partie, p. 16.

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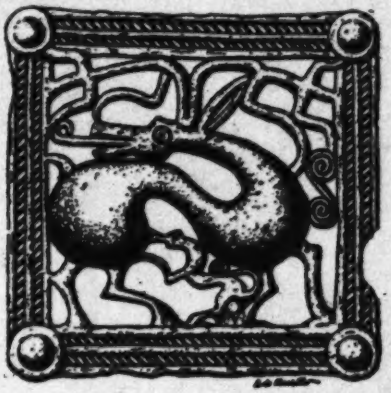
173 origins in accordance with the conventions of Holy Writ, rather than that it is the reflection of a real tradition of the early Georgians. If, as is suggested, the Mushki had before the twelfth century B.C. a common history with the Mitanni and Phrygians, they must have come originally from the north-west.[1]

175* The frequent association of the names Tubal and Meshech with the origin of the use of metals, and the fact that the Mushki first appear in history at the beginning of the period when iron was coming into use, would appear to confirm the idea that the Mushki came in with the iron-using nomads who were threatening the Bronze Age civilization at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. There is evidence that the first effective use of iron was made by nomad peoples in the region



to the north of the Caucasus. A recently published papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, containing fragments from Hellanicus, records that the use of iron weapons was first introduced by one Saneunos, a Scythian king.[2] Peake, further, has shown that it was possible for groups of the horse-riding nomads of eastern Europe to have learned the use of iron from the tribes of the Caucasus. On the other hand de Morgan has suggested that the discovery of the use of iron was an accidental result of the efforts of bronze-using folk to find a substitute for tin in a country where only copper was available. He finds these conditions in Trans-Caucasia, and he would postulate the

[1] *C.A.H.*, II, 274; III, 137 *et seq.*; cf. also Dr. Hogarth, *Ibid.*, III, 503—"we must credit the Mitanni and the Mushki, as well as the makers of historic monarchy in Phrygia, with belonging to an immigrant element from Europe, and include them among the invaders who came from the same Balkanic region at different epochs".

[2] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 18. For name Saneunos, cf. pp. 28-29.

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175x The seven principal deities of the Georgian pantheon were associated with the cult of the Sun, the Moon and the five planets and the worship of Kartlos-Teshub-Armazi, the national god in his various transformations, continued to hold the subconscious religious mind of the Georgians throughout the whole period of Christianity. St. George was the Cappadocian successor of the Hittite Teshub, and in Georgia the Christian Saints George and Elias retained many of the attributes accorded in pagan times to the solar-lunar deities Kartlos-Armazi and Zadeni. Wesendonk has noted that on the Georgian representations of St. George are the Sun, the Moon and the five stars, which nowhere else occur, while Javakhishvili has pointed out that in the worship of St. George pagan features exist, and that St. George is in reality a Moon-god. Seven was a significant and often sacred figure in Georgia, and in the Middle Ages the Seven Heavenly Bodies symbolized the seven parts of the Georgian Kingdom. But while sun- and moon-worship may be native to Georgia, it is probable that the worship of the five planets and the sanctity of the number seven indicate early Mesopotamian influences upon the native cults.

Wesendonk has suggested that the Cappadocian St. George became identified with the Georgian solar-lunar deity at the period of the introduction of Christianity into Georgia under influences from Syria. He continued to be associated with the Seven Heavenly Bodies and he was worshipped as the older gods Armazi and Zadeni had been, most often on mountain-tops and heights.

776 St. George holds the supreme place in the devout heart of the Georgian peasant, and he is reckoned even before ●173 Christ. Javakhishvili has observed that in the folk-lore of the people, St. George, and not Christ, is considered as the more important being, and he is regarded as the first in rank and the greater god. He is the protector of the human hearth, and of shepherds, and he guards man and beast and crops against the destructive forces of nature, even against the caprices and the evil humour of God. Only a second place is accorded to Christ. The Khevsurs address St. George in the words "*Oh God, thou Holy George.*" The Svanians [796] respect St. George more than the Creator and consider him as more powerful than God. The *Khatoba*, the great feast of St. George, in August, is made to fall on the night of the full moon, and the ceremonies connected witht his nocturnal celebration are none other than the pagan rites of

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moon-worship. Finally, the association of St. George with the dragon, so common on the religious objects surviving from the Caucasian Bronze Age and with the horse which recalls the Scythian totem or indeed the white horse of Mithra, affirms that mediæval Georgian Christianity was compounded of a mass of obscure pagan traditions derived from the remotest spiritual experiences of the people.[1]

Beside the two great deities Armazi and Zadeni, and the lesser Ga and Gatsi, there reigned in Georgia three goddesses, whose worship was definitely associated with the cult of the Great Mother. The Georgian lowlands lay open to many foreign influences, and as Teshub was identified through the centuries with Kartlos, Armazi and St. George, so the Great Mother was worshipped in Georgia in the names of Itrujani, of Ainina and Danana, and of Aphrodite. Itrujani was Ishtar or Astarte of the Semites. Ainina was Anaitis of the Armenians, Anahit of the Semites; with her name it always conjoined that of Danana, the Nana of the Semites.[2] Aphrodite, the Greek goddess, was introduced after the Roman conquest, as a Mediterranean adjunct to the native cult of the Great Goddess.[3]

The personifications of the Mother Goddess, Astarte, Nana, Anahit and even the Hellenic Aphrodite, were essentially native to Asia and their cult derives from the centuries before the Aryan swarming. Astarte was the wife of the Moon-god and the goddess of fertility and child-birth. Aphrodite, although she came to Georgia from Greece, was the love-goddess of Cyprus and Anatolia and the consort of the Phrygian-Armenian Ares. In the cult of Anahit, ritualistic prostitution occurs and E. Meyer considers the customs associated therewith, which occur also in the Lydian cult, as being non-Semitic. They belong perhaps to the oldest layer of population in Asia Minor.[4]

The memories of a matriarchal way of life which survived into the classic period, and the persistence of the Mother-Goddess cults with their emphasis on the physical and sexual theme of life, proclaim the existence in pre-Aryan Asia of a

[1] "The Bible is full not so much of religious as of racial culture; Christianity itself has taken over these survivals to such an extent that the division of culture into Christian and pre-Christian is scarcely permissible".—Meschaninov, *Zmiya i Solntse*.

[2] Danana used always with the name Ainina, appears to be formed of the Georgian conjunctive participle *da* + Nana.

[3] Aphrodite had her idol at Mtskheta in the second century A.D., Brosset, *Hist.*, I, i, 77.

[4] Ritualistic prostitution of boys whose gains go to the shrines of Muslim saints, is still practised among the non-Semitic—and only nominally Muslim—Berbers of the Wadi Sûs.